8145.e.83*
2*

AN ADDRESS TO Friends and Foes.

NUMB. II.

DUBLIN:
Printed in the Year MDCCLIV.

AN ADDRESS TO Friends and Foes.

I Was beginning to make an Extract for my Second Number, when a Pamphlet, intitled, *Moderation recommended to the Friends of* Ireland, *&c.* was put into my Hand; and I do not think it will deviate from the impartial Plan I laid down to myself in the First Number, if I enter a little into Converſation with this Author, by the Way; and talk over the Subject of his Paper in as moderate and diſpaſſionate a Manner, at leaſt, as he does; in which I ſhall not contradict him, except when I can ſupport myſelf by Facts, or Reaſonings, which, I think, his own *Moderation* muſt admit of.

This Author ſeems to think it a Matter quite indifferent, whether the Queſtion, about the *previous Conſent*, had been determined in the Nega-

tive, or Affirmative; and this is, certainly, a very *moderate* Opinion.

I do not look upon it in this Light; but think, without determining on which Side the Error lies, that rejecting the Bill, on account of the *Preamble*, muſt be a right Proceeding, or a wrong one.

However, ſuppoſe my *Moderation* ſhould carry me ſo far as to allow it a moot Point, whether it might be a Precedent of dangerous Conſequence, or of no Conſequence at all, (and this is, I dare ſay, the loweſt State this Queſtion can, poſſibly, be reduced to) the Matter thus ſtanding doubtful, there could be no Diſpute which was the moſt prudent Meaſure, to paſs, or to reject the Bill.

In refuſing it, a *Compliment* only was denied: I mean, ſuppoſing it to be a moot Point; for his *Majeſty*'s Power of applying the Funds in the Treaſury ſtill remained uncontеſted; but, in paſſing it, a Matter of *Right* might (I only ſay *might*) be given up, and a Precedent eſtabliſhed; for I acknowledge it was given * before, for framing, perhaps,

* I mean a Pretence for it was given in the Year 1751, and the Reaſons for it are hinted at in the *Proceedings*, &c. but to prevent its coming up to a full Precedent, there was no Committee appointed to *compare* the Bill, as is the general Form. So that it can

perhaps, other Bills in the ſame Manner; and if this ſhould ever obtain, the Houſe of Commons might never hereafter be at Liberty to introduce any Law for the Good of the Kingdom, unleſs it ſhould be firſt propoſed in the Vice-roy's Speech, or given to him in Commiſſion to grant a *previous Conſent* to.

Compliments are dangerous Things in ſuch high Matters as theſe; and all honeſt, prudent Politicians have taken care to ſet proper Bounds to the Uſe of them in all State Affairs, where the moſt remote Conſequence may be imagined to affect national Concerns, either of Liberty, or Property. We cannot be too much on our Guard againſt Precedents; for the ſlighteſt have been often made the Foundation of indefeaſible Claims: *Courtiers* are, in theſe Matters, a Sort of *State-Gypſies*, who, *if once they can finger a Souſe*, &c. and it is well known that Titles to Pre-eminence, or Eſtate, formerly granted merely by the *Courteſy* of *England*, have, by Uſage, grown as valid as any confirmed by *Heraldry*, or *Law*.

The high Honours, and profane Apotheoſes of antient Heroes and Kings, were the Occaſions of

can never be fairly or regularly inſiſted upon, as it does not appear, upon the *Journals* of the Houſe, that there was any Alteration.

all the Superſtition, Extravagance, and Confuſion, introduced into Religion in after-times; which called aloud to Heaven for a Divine Miſſion, to inſtruct Men in the moral and religious Obligations and Duties of Mankind.

There is an old Story not unapplicable here. A certain Lady was to be churched by her Chaplain, who, being a perfect Sycophant on every Occaſion, took an Opportunity, even in his holy Office, to compliment his Patroneſs; and, when he came to this Paſſage, "*Bleſs, O Lord, this "Woman, thy Servant,*" he ſtiled her *Gentlewoman*; upon which the Clerk, immediately laying hold of the Precedent, made this Reſponſe, "*Who putteth her Ladyſhip's Truſt in thee.*"

Compliments firſt made Women Goddeſſes, and Adulation created Princes Tyrants.

As the King ever could, and has made Application of the Money in the Treaſury to the Diſcharge of the public Debt, what Occaſion could be imagined for this leading Card of *previous Conſent*, in an Inſtance, allowed to be of no Conſequence in itſelf, except to eſtabliſh a Precedent in other Caſes, where the Effects might not be quite ſo innocent?

It is ſaid, that no dangerous Conſequence could be apprehended from this Precedent, be-

cauſe

cauſe the with-holding future Grants, and the Impeachment of Miniſters, who ſhould be inſtrumental in the Miſapplication of *public Money*, are Remedies ſtill within our Power.

The Hiſtory of Lord *Strafford*, indeed, and ſome few other Inſtances of the ſame kind, are, to be ſure, very wholeſome Precedents upon ſuch Occaſions; but in Politicks, as well as Phyſick, Prevention is eſteemed better than Remedy; becauſe the firſt preſerves the Conſtitution in its natural Vigour, while the ſecond but reſtores it, weakened by the Diſtemper. The Means of with-holding future Grants, and the Method of Impeachment, ſeem very plauſible Arguments to cajole us into Conceſſions of this kind; but it ſhould be conſidered, that we cannot with-hold the uſual or neceſſary Supplies, but to our own Diſadvantage and Hazard; for the proper Exigencies of Government muſt be provided for, as eſſential to our own Security; and what may avail an Impeachment here, to be tried in a foreign Court, when, perhaps, the Diſpoſition of an *Engliſh* Parliament may not be as favourable to us, as it was in *Strafford*'s time? Nay, we had a particular Reaſon, at this Juncture, not to have very great Dependence upon ſuch an Expedient as this, when an inferior Officer under the Crown, who had notoriouſly abuſed a

very great public Truſt (I charge him not with Diſhoneſty or Fraud) was publickly defended and ſupported by the whole Miniſtry here, during two Seſſions of Parliament, againſt the Majority of the Houſe of Commons, and the general Outcry of the Nation; and an effectual Stop obtained, by Court-Influence, to ſubjecting him to ſuch ſatisfactory Mulct, as the Public had a Right to expect from him.

The Author farther hints, that all this Buſtle about a Matter, which he deems of no Conſequence, was occaſioned by diſguſted or diſappointed Statſmen; and ſuch Things may happen while Men are Men.—But then, whoſe Fault is this? and where ſhould it be amended? Has not the national Buſineſs, and the King's, been jointly carried on, for theſe twenty Years paſt, to the moſt perfect and uninterrupted Satisfaction of both? I ſhall agree with this *moderate* Author, that this whole Diſpute was occaſioned intirely by a Struggle for Power; and, upon this probable Suggeſtion, as the Author ſays, well-meaning Men ſhould not be cajoled to ſupport it. But where will the Weight of this Cenſure light? and who began the Struggle? Surely not the *Speaker*, who had the Power, but thoſe who attempted to wreſt it from him. Certainly there

was

was no ſound Policy in the Court to abet this Struggle; and it muſt be deemed a wanton Caprice of Power to embroil his *Majeſty*'s Affairs, inflame the whole Nation, ſubject the Royal Delegation to Obloquy and Affront, and involve the *King* and *Engliſh* Miniſtry in a Party-diſpute, merely to humour and ſupport the abſurd and improper Ambition of two Men, who have neither Family-Intereſts, or permanent Connections with this Kingdom.

His *Majeſty* is ſaid to be diſpleaſed at our Proceedings here; and he has remarkably ſhewn his Diſpleaſure in ſeveral Inſtances. That he has had Reaſon to be diſſatisfied, I agree with this *Moderator*; and the only Point we differ about, is, who were the proper Objects of it. This Matter, I dare ſay, would have been long ſince ſettled to the intire Satisfaction of all impartial Men, from the joint Opinion theſe three Kingdoms have always had Reaſon to conceive of his *Majeſty*; and the juſt Characteriſtick the *Biſhop of* Lizieux has given of him, in his late ſenſible and well-ſpirited Sermon; if ſome very extraordinary and unfair Repreſentations had not been tranſmitted to *England*, of ſeveral worthy Perſonages, equally Friends to his *Majeſty* and their Country.

That

That this is no partial Presumption, may be proved from this one Reflection; that supposing the *Question*, as I said before, to be a moot or doubtful Point; nay, let us even suppose the rejecting it to be an improper Measure; yet, surely, a first Fault should have been more mildly reflected; and, if such long, repeated, and steddy Services, as have been rendered by the *Speaker*, and his Family, both to the *Hanover* Succession before it was established, and to the Support of that illustrious Family ever since its Administration, can be totally cancelled by *one* indiscreet Step, what Stability can be expected in *Court-favour*? If Princes are not bound by Principles of Gratitude, what Rules has Loyalty to act by? If the most faithful Services are to be set at nought upon the first Disgust, and that any officious Courtier, untried and unapproved, may be able to rival the long experienced Merits of the best Servants of the Crown, who, that has the Spirit of a Man, or the Fortune of an Independent, would care to inlist in a Cause, which, in the Height of well-earned Emoluments and Honours, may leave him subject to Disgrace, and desert him to the mean Insult of an upstart Triumph?

I say, when I consider these Things, I can never suppose his *Majesty* has been justly, or impartially, informed

informed either of the Characters of the Men, or the Principles, upon which they have hitherto, and still continue to act. And the extraordinary and premature Prorogation of our late Parliament confirms the Suspicion, because this was a Proceeding necessary to prevent the Majority of the House of Commons, from declaring their Duty and Affection to his Majesty, and vindicating their Conduct from the unfair Misrepresentations, which, they had good Reason to apprehend, would be made to their Prejudice.

It has been an old Trick of Ministers, to screen themselves under the Shield of Princes, and to make every Opposition to their Measures, appear an Act of Rebellion, as immoral Parsons construe the Contempt they meet with into an Affront to Religion; but I little doubt that, when a fair Representation of Affairs shall be laid properly before his Majesty, he will return some such Answer as the great *CONSTANTINE* did, upon being press'd by his Minister, (though I think he had no Minister) to punish some Persons who had thrown Stones at his Statue, who replied with a Smile, "They have not hurt me!"

If I have said any thing here which may offend Men in Power, it ought rather to be deemed an Instance of my *Moderation*, to have been so calm,

while

while I am vindicating my King, my Country, and the mutual Friends to both; all which I ſhould be a very able Champion for, if my other Talents or Powers were but equal to the Warmth with which I feel my Heart, at this Inſtant, affected for each. I am a Man unborn to Fortune, unbred to Education, and unverſed in Politicks; then ſurely, nothing could tempt me to take part on the *loſing* Side, but an Ambition of acting up, as far as in me lies, to the Character of a loyal Subject, and an honeſt Patriot.

All the Papers, which have been publiſhed ſince the Commencement of this Diſpute, have taken part, either on the Side of the Miniſtry, or the Parliament; but I think I am the firſt, who has undertaken to ſay any thing on the Part of his Majeſty; upon which Subject it is ſufficient to hint, how it was probable he might be deceived; and, as *Kings* can do no wrong, we may know upon whom to charge the Evil.

I think this is a Point, which ought much to be inſiſted upon; becauſe it is too certain, that great Numbers of as loyal Subjects as ever Monarch received Allegiance from, ſeem, of late, to be much ſtaggered in Opinion, and alarmed at the Apprehenſions of ſome fatal Stroke, being intended againſt the Liberty of the Subject, from

the

the ſeveral high and miniſterial Proceedings, which have been newly tranſacted in this Kingdom: So that the Current of our Fealty ſeems to be ſtopt in its Courſe; and, if I may uſe a Metaphor, we are, for the preſent, reduced to break in, and live upon the *Principal* of our Loyalty, in order to the Maintenance and Support of our Duty and Affection: So that, to carry on the Alluſion, we may be conſidered as Orphans, under the Care of diſhoneſt or improvident Guardians, who, without putting our Fortunes out to Intereſt, ſuffer us to become Spendthrifts of that Patrimony, which our Parent and Patron has ſo kindly and beneficently beſtow'd upon us during our Minority, or perpetual State of Nonage.

Philoſophers, in all the Arts and Sciences, have ſo refined and ſubtilized human Reaſon, that they have puzzled and obſcured the plaineſt and moſt obvious Truths: Who, but a Genius of this Sort, could have denied *Motion?* which was refuted in the propereſt Manner, by a Man's walking about the Room. A late Philoſopher denied the Exiſtence of *Matter*, and, if his Antagoniſt had anſwered him with a Cudgel, he would have done it better than by a Treatiſe. Politicians are Wits of the ſame Claſs, from whoſe interwoven Sophiſtry our beſt Appeal is to the general and unprejudiced

Senſe of the People. Now let us collect the Opinion of this Tribunal from Grand-Juries which repreſent Counties, Corporations which repreſent Boroughs, or Merchants and Tradeſmen who repreſent Cities, and we ſhall find it agreed on by all of them with one Voice, that *Ireland* has ſuffer'd more, in its national Strength and Intereſt, within theſe three or four Years, than, perhaps, an Age may retrieve, unleſs ſome extraordinary Method (for the ordinary Means were abruptly denied us) be found out to leave the Royal Ear open to our Grievances and juſt Complaint.

This *Vox Dei*, to which I appeal, will certainly inform you, that the Miſcarriage of our Linen-Bill in the former Seſſions, and the Attempt to introduce dangerous Innovations in it this laſt Winter, have occaſioned Traders in that Manufacture, to look upon this Staple to ſtand upon a very precarious Footing for the future; eſpecially as a *Scotchman* is known, at preſent, to have a great Sway in the *E——ſh* M——y, and that a Præmium upon our Linens was lately taken off, and transferred to the Emolument of that Nation. You will be alſo told, that the Declarations of ſeveral Perſons of conſiderable Fortunes intending to quit the Kingdom, upon ſome late Diſguſts, with the Apprehenſions of our having no Parliament

in

in *Ireland* for the future, or what is worſe, Parliaments reduced under abſolute miniſterial Influence, have occaſioned a general Check to Trade over the whole Kingdom, have raiſed the Intereſt of Money, lowered the Rents of Lands, and have reduced the Price of Houſes many *per Cent.* in this Metropolis.

While every other Channel is choak'd up to us, O leave the Liberty of the Preſs open! for even Sighs and Groans are ſome Relief to a Patient, till the Phyſician can be applied to for an effectual Cure.

The Preſs reſtrain'd! nefandous Thought!
In vain our Sires have nobly fought.
While free from Force the Preſs remains,
Virtue and Freedom chear our Plains,
And Learning Largeſſes beſtows,
And keeps, uncenſur'd, open Houſe.
This Tree, which Knowledge ſo affords,
Inquiſitors, with flaming Swords,
From Lay Approach with Zeal defend,
Leſt their own Paradiſe ſhould end.
The Preſs, from her fœcundous Womb,
Brought forth the Arts of *Greece* and *Rome*;
Her Offspring, ſkill'd in logick War,
Truth's Banner wav'd in open Air;

The

The Monſter Superſtition fled,
And hid in Shades its Gorgon Head;
And lawleſs Pow'r, the long kept Field,
By Reaſon quell'd, was forc'd to yield.
This Nurſe of Arts, and Freedom's Fence
To chain, is Treaſon againſt Senſe:
And, Liberty, thy thouſand Tongues
None ſilence, who deſign no Wrongs;
For thoſe, who uſe the Gag's Reſtraint,
Firſt rob, before they ſtop Complaint.

END OF THE SECOND NUMBER.